

Bright mind, moral mind? Intelligence is unrelated to consequentialist moral judgment **in**
sacrificial moral dilemmas.

D.H. Bostyn, J. De keersmaecker, J. Van Assche, A. Roets

Ghent University; Department of Developmental, Personality, and Social Psychology; Henri
Dunantlaan 2, B-9000, Ghent, Belgium.

Dries.Bostyn@Ugent.be, ORCID: 0000-0001-9994-4615

Jonas.Dekeersmaecker@Ugent.be, ORCID: 0000-0002-8062-7422

Jasper.VanAssche@UGent.be. ORCID: 0000-0002-2570-2928

Arne.Roets@Ugent.be, ORCID: 0000-0001-5814-1189

WORD COUNT (excluding Abstract, Tables, & Figures): 3999

Declarations of interest: None.

Authors' Note

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Dries H. Bostyn,
Department of Developmental, Personality, and Social Psychology, Henri Dunantlaan 2, B-
9000, Ghent, Belgium. E-mail: Dries.Bostyn@Ugent.be.

Abstract

The dual-process model for moral cognition suggests that outcome-focused, consequentialist moral judgment **in sacrificial moral dilemmas** is driven by a deliberative, reasoned, cognitive process. While many studies have demonstrated a positive association of consequentialist judgment with measures for cognitive engagement, no work has investigated whether cognitive ability itself is also related to consequentialist judgment. Therefore, we conducted three studies to investigate if participants' preference for consequentialist moral judgment is related to their intelligence. A meta-analytic integration of these three studies (with a total $n = 675$) uncovered no association between both measures ($r = -.02$). Furthermore, a Bayesian re-analysis of the same data provided substantial evidence in favor of a null effect ($BF_{H0} = 7.2$). As such, the present studies show that if consequentialist judgments depend on deliberative reasoning, this association is not driven by cognitive ability, but by cognitive motivation.

Keywords: cognitive ability; intelligence; moral judgment; consequentialism; trolley dilemmas

Introduction

When is it morally appropriate to disregard the rights of the individual for the well-being of the larger group? A burgeoning literature on peoples' responses to ethical dilemmas has helped to provide an empirical backdrop on how we approach such issues. Central in this field is the study of trolley-style moral dilemmas in which participants are asked whether they consider it appropriate to actively sacrifice the life of a single individual to ensure that the lives of multiple others are saved. These dilemmas contrast an outcome-focused, *consequentialist* moral logic (i.e., sacrifice one to save many; Rosen, 2005), with a *deontological* moral logic that focusses on rights, duties and a disavowal of active harm (Alexander & Moore, 2008). The main theory within the field, a dual-process model, (Cushman, 2013; Greene, 2007), suggests that each of these two different perspectives is related to a different psychological process. When confronted with a moral dilemma, two processes compete to determine our judgment: a fast intuitive, automatic process that is linked with a preference for deontological moral judgment, and a cognitive, deliberative reasoning-based process that steers our preference towards a consequentialist logic that weighs the harms versus the potential benefits of each course of action.

This dual-process model was advanced in seminal work by Greene, Sommerville, Nystrom, Darley, and Cohen (2001). Using neuroimaging techniques, they uncovered that consequentialist moral judgment was associated with increased activation in “cognitive” areas of the brain such as the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, whereas deontological moral judgment was associated with increased activation in “emotional” areas of the brain such as the medial prefrontal cortex. The association of deontological judgment with emotional reactivity has been widely corroborated. For instance, individual differences in empathic concern are consistently associated with deontological judgment ($r = .17, p = .02, n = 194$, Kahane, Everett, Earp, Farias, & Savulescu, 2015; $r = .28, p < .001, n = 112$, Conway & Gawronski,

2013; $r = .30, p < .001; n = 296$, Reynolds & Conway; $d = 0.64$ & $0.52, p < .001$ & $< .001, n = 718$ & 366 , Gleichgerrcht & Young, 2013). Interestingly, these associations are not related to concern for the sacrificial victim but because people high in empathic concern are more aversive of the sacrificial action (Miller, Hannikainen, & Cushman, 2014).

In contrast, the association of deliberate cognition with consequentialist judgment appears to be more tenuous. Greene, Morelli, Lowenberg, Nystrom & Cohen (2008) attempted to experimentally *decrease* participants' inclination to deliberate and found that a concurrent cognitive load decreased the speed of consequentialist but not deontological judgments ($p = .002, n = 82$)¹. Some studies have failed to replicate this effect ($d = 0.10, p = .110, n = 311$, Tinghög et al., 2016; $p = .273, n = 85$, Cova et al., 2018), while others have uncovered a load effect not on response time but on participants' overall inclination towards consequentialist judgment ($d = 0.73, p = .009, n = 57$, Conway & Gawronski, 2013; $\eta_p^2 = .033, p < .015, n = 191$, Białek, & De Neys, 2017; see also, Trémolière, & Bonnefon, 2014).

Relatedly, some studies have attempted to *increase* participants' inclination to deliberate, for instance by administering the Cognitive Reflection Test (CRT, Frederick, 2005). The CRT is a reasoning test that asks subjects to solve mathematical riddles. While the correct answers to these riddles require only elementary calculations, they necessitate the suppression of an intuitively appealing wrong answer. Paxton, Ungar, & Greene (2012) found that administering the CRT increased the likelihood of consequentialist judgment ($d = 0.43, n = 91, p = .05$) but another study failed to replicate this effect ($d = -0.13, n = 297, p = .24$, Cova et al., 2018).

Individual difference studies are similarly mixed. Paxton, Ungar, & Greene (2012) report a positive association of participants' CRT scores with consequentialist judgment ($r =$

¹ Given that the Greene et al. study involves a within-subjects design we were unable to straightforwardly compute an effect size estimate from the data provided in the manuscript.

.39, $p = .001$, $n = 41$). Aktas, Yilmaz, & Bahçekapili (2017) replicated this finding in a first study ($r = .15$, $p < .01$, $n = 269$), but not in a second one ($r = .00$, $p > .05$, $n = 246$), nor did Cova et al. ($r = .08$, $p = .11$, $n = 316$, 2018; see also Royzman, Landy, & Leeman, 2015; Baron, Scott, Fincher, & Metz 2015).

One reason why the literature might be mixed is that deliberative reasoning has two components: a motivational component and an ability component. For a deliberative process to suppress intuitive processing, both the motivation to expend the necessary cognitive resources and the availability of these resources (i.e., cognitive ability) are relevant. The existing literature on the dual process model for moral cognition has not differentiated between the motivational and the ability component of deliberate reasoning. This is peculiar as Evans and Stanovich (2013) suggest that the ability component is in fact the “defining” aspect of deliberative reasoning. For most of the measures that have been used to study the association of “deliberate reasoning” with consequentialist judgment, the motivational and ability component are heavily entwined. For instance, the CRT is typically perceived as a measure for participants’ cognitive style (intuitive vs. reasoned) but it also correlates well with general intelligence (approximately $r = .42$, $p < .001$, $n = 376$, Saribay & Yilmaz, 2017). Any association that the CRT might (or might not) have with consequentialist judgment could be caused by either the motivational or the ability component of deliberate reasoning. Similarly, most experimental manipulations impact both motivation and ability simultaneously. A concurrent cognitive load does not only hinder participants’ ability to deliberate, it also impacts their motivation to complete a second demanding task (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011).

Despite the large literature on the association of consequentialist moral judgments with deliberative reasoning, we are not aware of any study that has directly investigated whether cognitive ability itself plays a role in this connection. Perhaps most similar is a series

of studies by Moore, Clark, & Kane (2008) that investigated whether working memory capacity is related to consequentialist judgment, and did not find a consistent effect.

Investigating the association between intelligence and consequentialist moral reasoning would help to clarify the nature of the inconsistent associations between consequentialist and deliberative reasoning in the literature.

The current manuscript investigates this issue through an internal meta-analysis of three studies. The data for Study 1 was gathered as part of two unrelated projects. We decided to combine the cognitive ability and moral judgment data of both projects and investigate their possible association through an unplanned, exploratory test. The result of this test served as the impetus for gathering additional data. The data for Studies 2 and 3, while not preregistered, were gathered with the explicit intent of testing this association.² No other hypotheses were explored for the latter two studies. We report how we determined our sample size, all data exclusions (none), and all measures in these studies.

Method

Participants and Sample Size.

We conducted a total of three studies. Table 1 describes demographical statistics. For Studies 1 ($n = 210$) and 2 ($n = 211$), undergraduate students at a Belgian university completed the relevant measures for course credit. For Study 3 ($n = 254$), North-American participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk and paid US\$1.15. Participants in Studies 1 & 2 were able to choose from multiple time slots but were not informed about the nature of the studies that would be conducted during each timeslot. For studies 1 and 2 we aimed for samples with $n > 200$ (80% power for $r \geq .20$). For Study 3, we aimed for a more powerful

² The cognitive ability measure from Study 2 was also used in an unrelated study (De keersmaecker, Dunning, Pennycook, Rand, Sanchez, Unkelbach, & Roets, in press). Only the cognitive ability measure was shared among datasets.

study (90% power when assuming a population effect size of $r \geq .20$). No specific instructions were given to participants during any of the studies.

Table 1

Sample size and summary demographical statistics

	<i>N</i> (Female)	Mean Age (SD)	Mean Conseq. (SD)	Mean Deont. (SD)
Study 1	210 (179)	18.81 (2.49)	3.00 (0.76)	2.31 (0.62)
Study 2	211 (168)	18.66 (2.52)	0.47 (0.21)	0.71 (0.28)
Study 3	254 (113)	36.03 (10.53)	2.88 (0.91)	2.87 (0.87)

Note. Preference for Consequentialist and Deontological judgment are measured on a 5-point scale (scores between 1 to 5) on Studies 1 and 3, but through Process Dissociation (scores between -1 to 1) on Study 2.

Measures.

Cognitive ability. In Studies 1 and 2, cognitive ability was measured with a shortened version of the Wilde Intelligence Test ($\lambda_2 = .70$ & $.75$; see Kersting, Althoff, & Jäger, 2008). In this test, participants are presented with 45 logic problems tapping into fluid intelligence, and are instructed to solve as many problems as possible in 12 minutes. The number of correct responses constitutes the participant's ability score.

In Study 3, cognitive ability was measured as the number of correct responses on the 10-item WordSum test ($\alpha = .77$), a vocabulary subtest from the WAIS (Zhu & Weiss, 2005), that is used as a measure for general intelligence in the General Social Survey. In this test, participants are presented with 10 target words and have to select for each target word, the word that comes closest to the meaning of the target from a set of five words.

Preference for Consequentialist (and for Deontological) judgment. We used two different measures for these constructs. In Studies 1 and 3, participants were presented with a battery of 10 trolley-style dilemmas (Bostyn, Sevenhant, & Roets, 2018) and were asked for each of the two possible options within each dilemma to what extent they considered that option to be morally appropriate on a scale from (1) completely inappropriate to (5)

completely appropriate. This battery includes a mix of personal and impersonal dilemmas.³ Participants' preference for consequentialist judgment was calculated by averaging their appropriateness ratings of the consequentialist options ($\alpha = .87$ & $.88$). A preference for deontological judgment was calculated similarly ($\alpha = .85$ & $.89$). Deontological and consequentialist reasoning are envisioned to be driven by dissociable and independent mental processes (Conway & Gawronski, 2013; Greene et al., 2001). As such, we did not expect to find an association between cognitive ability and deontological reasoning.

In Study 2, moral preferences were measured through a process dissociation approach developed by Conway & Gawronski (2013). This procedure contrasts participants' responses on *congruent* dilemmas with their responses on *incongruent* dilemmas. Both types of dilemmas have the same structure as traditional trolley-style moral dilemmas but on incongruent dilemmas (similar to traditional trolley-style dilemmas), each moral preference is associated with a different response (e.g., "Torture someone to stop a bomb from exploding") whereas on congruent dilemmas, participants' preference for consequentialist and deontological judgment suggest the same response because the sacrificial harm does not outweigh the benefit that would be gained (e.g., "Torture someone to stop them from vandalizing a bus stop?"). Participants were confronted with 20 dilemmas, 10 of each kind, and were asked whether the suggested sacrificial harm was morally appropriate in a binary fashion (Yes/No). Each moral preference is then calculated through a set of equations (Conway & Gawronski, 2013). Some of the original dilemmas from Conway & Gawronski (2013) were interchanged by alternatives that are more culturally appropriate for our sample (see, Bostyn, Roets, & Van Hiel, 2016). All dilemmas used in all studies were framed from a first-person perspective and are available at <https://osf.io/txvjb/>.

³ Analyzing our data along this dimension did not impact any of the reported result.

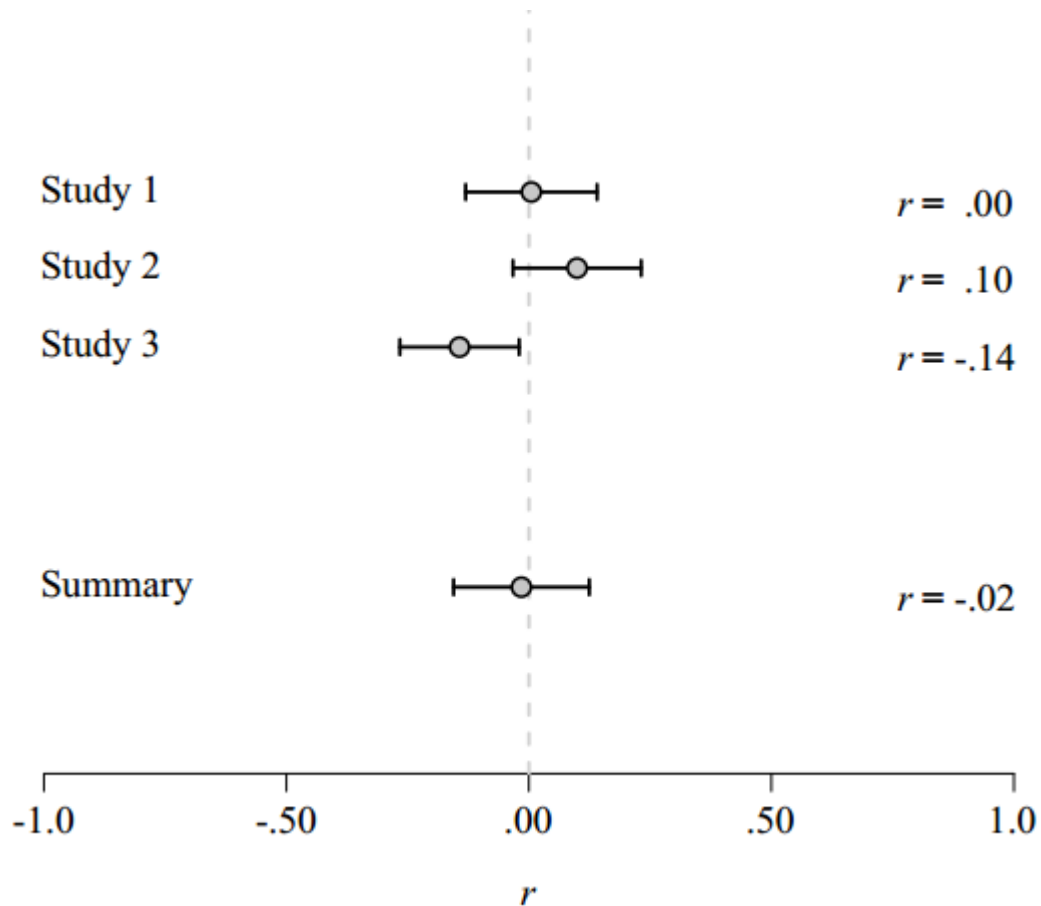
Results

Data and statistical code are available at <https://osf.io/z7uxe/>. In each study, we correlated participants' preference for consequentialist and deontological moral judgment with their cognitive ability. We then conducted a random-effects meta-analysis with a Paule-Mandel estimator using the metafor package in R (Viechtbauer, 2010). Figure 1 displays the results of each study. Interestingly, we uncovered no association between cognitive ability and the participants' propensity for consequentialist judgment, $r_{meta} = -.02$, $p_{meta} = .415$. A large amount of heterogeneity was present, $I^2 = 71\%$, $95\%CI = 0\%, 99\%$, $\tau^2 = 0.10$. However, given the small number of studies included in this meta-analysis we caution against interpretation of these heterogeneity estimates.

To quantify the strength of the evidence in favor of a null effect compared to the expected positive association we calculated a directional meta-analytical Bayes Factor with the metaBMA package in R (Heck, Gronau, & Wagenmakers, 2017) using a model averaging approach that weights the results of fixed and a random effects meta-analysis. We used a half-Normal prior ($\mu = 0$, $\sigma = 0.3$) for the effect size and a half-Cauchy prior (scale factor = 0.5) for the between study variance (the default options in the package). This analysis suggested that, based on the current work, a null association between preference for consequentialist moral judgment and intelligence is 7.2 times more **credible** than the expected positive association. A prior sensitivity analysis (using 36 different prior combinations, reported in the online supplementary materials) found that BF_{H0} ranged from 2.73 to 199.5 (**available at** <https://osf.io/wfasb/>). The smallest Bayes factors were obtained when using priors that assume a high likelihood for a null effect, and the largest Bayes factors were obtained when using priors that assume a large positive effect.

Finally, though not the focus of the current manuscript, we uncovered no evidence for an association between preference for deontological judgment and cognitive ability, $r_{meta} = .04$, $p_{meta} = .133$, $\tau^2 = 0.02$, $I^2 = 8.78\%$, $95\%CI = 0\%, 98\%$).

Figure 1. Correlation of intelligence with preference for consequentialist moral judgment.



Discussion

The dominant theoretical framework for moral cognition, the dual-process model, states that consequentialist judgment is driven by a deliberative cognitive process rather than through automatic processing. Research on this issue has uncovered a mixed set of findings, with some studies reporting positive effects and others reporting null effects (see *supra*). Importantly, previous research did not distinguish between the motivational and ability components of deliberate cognition. Investigating if cognitive ability is related to

consequentialist reasoning can inform which specific aspects of deliberative processing (if any) are driving the overall association. Based on previous work, one could have expected a positive association, however across a set of three studies we uncover no evidence for an association ($r_{meta} = -.02$).

The current results clarify some aspects of the dual process model for moral cognition. To the extent that previous research has uncovered associations of measures for “deliberate cognition” with increased consequentialist responding, our study suggests that these associations are likely driven by participants’ cognitive motivation and not by their cognitive ability. Accordingly, these results qualify earlier work about the effect of cognitive load manipulations on moral reasoning (such as Greene et al., 2008), and suggest that these load manipulations sort their effect through inhibiting cognitive motivation rather than through ability reduction.

One could argue that the lack of an association of consequentialist reasoning with intelligence is not surprising given the limited mathematical complexity of the 1 vs. 5 comparison. However, reducing consequentialist choice to a game of “pick the higher number” ignores the maze of conflicting moral norms one has to navigate to make this choice. The complexity of this type of moral cognition does not lie in the math of the cost-benefit analysis. It lies in whether the consequentialist benefit outweighs violating several moral norms. Trolley dilemmas are hard, not because the underlying math is hard, but because weighing norms is hard. Additionally, consequentialist decisions require participants to assume responsibility for the dilemma situation. This puts them in social jeopardy as research has uncovered that consequentialists are seen as cold, unempathic and less trustworthy (Bostyn & Roets, 2017a; Everett, Faber, Savulescu, Crockett, 2018; Everett, Pizarro, & Crockett, 2016; Uhlmann, Zhu, Tannenbaum, 2013). Given the social and moral complexities involved, cognitive ability could very well have impacted participants’ decision making.

In any case, this null effect begs the question how measures of cognitive motivation can be associated with consequentialist decision making in the absence of an effect of ability. How can the motivation to deliberate have an impact when the ability to deliberate does not? One potential answer could be that individuals with a high motivation for deliberative thinking simply take more time to respond to dilemmas. Previous research has suggested that deontological judgment is driven by a strong emotionally aversive reaction to the sacrificial harm suggested in a trolley-style moral dilemma (Greene, 2007). If so, then taking longer to respond might lessen the impact of this emotional reaction. Perhaps the association of motivational measures with consequentialist decision making is not due to increased deliberation per se, but rather due to attenuation of the initial emotional response.

The current studies have some limitations. A first limitation is that our study investigated moral decision making using hypothetical dilemmas. On all dilemmas participants were confronted with a limited set of potential actions and the outcome of each action was predetermined. While such dilemmas are common in psychological research, they might be too simplistic to measure moral decision making in the context of cognitive ability. Real-life moral decisions are fraught with uncertainty and in contrast to hypothetical judgments, the decisions made are actually consequential. We cannot preclude the possibility that real-life moral decision making might be more cognitively demanding than hypothetical decision making. Similarly, given that the current study only investigates moral decision making in the context of sacrificial moral dilemmas, we should be careful not to generalize our conclusions beyond such dilemmas. It is possible that other types of consequentialist moral reasoning (cf. impartial beneficence, Kahane Everett, Earp, Caviola, Faber, Crockett, & Savulesco, 2019) might be associated with cognitive ability. Finally, we restricted our investigation to the effects of cognitive ability in isolation from any measures of cognitive motivation. One could assume that any effect of cognitive ability would be most pronounced

for subjects that additionally have a high motivation towards reasoning cognition. While there is merit to a study including such variables, our samples contained participants that were both high and low in motivation. Even if cognitive ability and motivation interact and, even if the effect of cognitive ability emerges only for those that score high on motivation, we should still have uncovered an attenuated main effect of cognitive ability. Since our meta-analytic estimate is negative, we think it unlikely that this could explain our findings.

In any case, Greene (2014) has argued that societal progress relies on assuming the meta-ethical perspective offered by consequentialist morality. At least from that vantage point, it seems encouraging that people's ability to take a consequentialist perspective is not hindered by limitations in their cognitive ability.

Open Practice Statement

The data, statistical code and materials for all experiments are available at
<https://osf.io/z7uxe/>.

References

- Aktaş, B., Yılmaz, O., & Bahçekapılı, H.G. (2017). Moral pluralism on the trolley tracks: Different normative principles are used for different reasons in justifying moral judgments. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 12(3), 297-307.
- Alexander, L., & Moore, M. (2008). *Deontological ethics*. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy. Retrieved from <http://plato.standord.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/ethicsdeontological>.
- Baron, J., Scott, S., Fincher, K., & Metz, S.E. (2015). Why does the Cognitive Reflection Test (sometimes) predict utilitarian moral judgment (and other things)?. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 4(3), 265-284.
- Białek, M., & De Neys, W. (2017). Dual processes and moral conflict: Evidence for deontological reasoners' intuitive utilitarian sensitivity. *Judgment and decision making*, 12(2), 148-167.
- Bostyn, D.H., & Roets, A. (2017a). Trust, trolleys and social dilemmas: A replication study. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 146(5), e1-e7.
doi:10.1037/xge0000295
- Bostyn, D.H., Roets, A., & Van Hiel, A. (2016). Right-wing attitudes and moral cognition: Are Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation related to utilitarian judgment?. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 96, 164-171.
- Bostyn, D.H., Sevenhant, S., & Roets, A. (2018). Beyond physical harm: how preference for consequentialism and primary psychopathy relate to decisions on a monetary trolley dilemma. *Thinking & Reasoning*, 192-206.
- Conway, P., & Gawronski, B. (2013). Deontological and utilitarian inclinations in moral decision making: a process dissociation approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(2), 216.

- Cova, F., Strickland, B., Abatista, A., Allard, A., Andow, J., Attie, M., ... & Cushman, F. (2018). Estimating the reproducibility of experimental philosophy. *Review of Philosophy and Psychology*, 1-36.
- Cushman, F. (2013). Action, outcome, and value: A dual-system framework for morality. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 17(3), 273-292.
- De keersmaecker, J., Dunning, D., Pennycook, G., Rand, D. G, Sanchez, C., Unkelbach, C., & Roets, A. (in press). Investigating the robustness of the illusory truth effect across individual differences in cognitive ability, need for cognitive closure, and cognitive style. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*.
- Evans, J.S.B., & Stanovich, K.E. (2013). Dual-process theories of higher cognition: Advancing the debate. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8(3), 223-241.
- Everett, J.A., Faber, N.S., Savulescu, J., & Crockett, M.J. (2018). The costs of being consequentialist: Social inference from instrumental harm and impartial beneficence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 79, 200-216.
- Everett, J.A., Pizarro, D.A., & Crockett, M.J. (2016). Inference of trustworthiness from intuitive moral judgments. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 145(6), 772.
- Frederick, S. (2005). Cognitive reflection and decision making. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(4), 25-42.
- Gleichgerricht, E., & Young, L. (2013). Low levels of empathic concern predict utilitarian moral judgment. *PloS one*, 8(4), e60418.
- Greene, J.D. (2007). *The secret joke of Kant's soul*. In W. Sinnott Armstrong (Ed.), *Moral psychology: Vol. 3. The neuroscience of morality: Emotion, disease, and development* (pp. 35– 80). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Greene, J.D. (2014). *Moral tribes: Emotion, reason, and the gap between us and them*. New York, NY: Penguin.

- Greene, J.D., Morelli, S. A., Lowenberg, K., Nystrom, L.E., & Cohen, J.D. (2008). Cognitive load selectively interferes with utilitarian moral judgment. *Cognition*, 107(3), 1144-1154.
- Greene, J.D., Sommerville, R. B., Nystrom, L. E., Darley, J. M., & Cohen, J.D. (2001). An fMRI investigation of emotional engagement in moral judgment. *Science*, 293(5537), 2105-2108. doi:10.1126/science.1062872
- Heck, D.W., Gronau, Q.F., & Wagenmakers, E.J. (2017). *metaBMA: Bayesian model averaging for random and fixed effects meta-analysis*. R package, URL [https://cran.r-project.org/package= metaBMA](https://cran.r-project.org/package=metaBMA).
- Kahane, G., Everett, J.A.C., Earp, B.D., Farias, M., & Savulescu, J. (2015). ‘Utilitarian’ judgments in sacrificial moral dilemmas do not reflect impartial concern for the greater good. *Cognition*, 134, 193–209.
- Kahane, G., Everett, J. A., Earp, B. D., Caviola, L., Faber, N. S., Crockett, M. J., & Savulescu, J. (2018). Beyond sacrificial harm: A two-dimensional model of utilitarian psychology. *Psychological Review*, 125(2), 131.
- Kersting, M., Althoff, K., & Jäger, A.O. (2008). *Wilde-Intelligenz-Test 2 (WIT-2)* [Wilde Intelligence Test 2 (WIT-2)]. Göttingen: Hogrefe.
- Miller, R.M., Hannikainen, I.A., & Cushman, F.A. (2014). Bad actions or bad outcomes? Differentiating affective contributions to the moral condemnation of harm. *Emotion*, 14(3), 573-587.
- Moore, A.B., Clark, B.A., & Kane, M.J. (2008). Who shalt not kill? Individual differences in working memory capacity, executive control, and moral judgment. *Psychological Science*, 19(6), 549-557.
- Paxton, J.M., Ungar, L., & Greene, J.D. (2012). Reflection and reasoning in moral judgment. *Cognitive Science*, 36(1), 163-177.

- Reynolds, C.J., & Conway, P. (2018). Not just bad actions: Affective concern for bad outcomes contributes to moral condemnation of harm in moral dilemmas. *Emotion*, 18(7), 1009-1023.
- Roets, A. & Van Hiel, A. (2011). Impaired performance as a source of reduced energy investment in judgment under stressors. *Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, 23, 625-632.
- Rosen, F. (2005). *Classical Utilitarianism from Hume to Mill*, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Royzman, E.B., Landy, J.F., & Leeman, R.F. (2015). Are thoughtful people more utilitarian? CRT as a unique predictor of moral minimalism in the dilemmatic context. *Cognitive Science*, 39(2), 325-352.
- Saribay, S.A., & Yilmaz, O. (2017). Analytic cognitive style and cognitive ability differentially predict religiosity and social conservatism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 114, 24-29.
- Trémolière, B., & Bonnefon, J.F. (2014). Efficient kill–save ratios ease up the cognitive demands on counterintuitive moral utilitarianism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40(7), 923-930.
- Tinghög, G., Andersson, D., Bonn, C., Johannesson, M., Kirchler, M., Koppel, L., & Västfjäll, D. (2016). Intuition and moral decision-making—the effect of time pressure and cognitive load on moral judgment and altruistic behavior. *PloS One*, 11(10), e0164012.
- Uhlmann, E.L., Zhu, L.L., & Tannenbaum, D. (2013). When it takes a bad person to do the right thing. *Cognition*, 126(2), 326-334.
- Viechtbauer, W. (2010). Conducting meta-analyses in R with the metafor package. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 36(3), 1-48.

Zhu, J., & Weiss, L. (2005). *The Wechsler Scales*. In D.P. Flanagan & P. L. Harrison (Eds.), *Contemporary intellectual assessment: Theories, tests, and issues* (2nd ed., pp. 297–324). New York, NY: Guilford Press